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MARCH MEETING, 1889.

THE Society met on the 14th instant; the chair being taken by the President, Dr. ELLIS.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last meeting.

The Librarian mentioned the recent gifts to the Library.

Mr. WINSOR reported that by a communication to him from the Comte de Nicolai, it appeared that this gentleman had communicated to the Government of the Province of Quebec copies of the De Lévis papers, and they were now printing under authority of the provincial legislature, with an introductory account of De Lévis by Nicolai himself. This publication, together with the printing of the collection of the Haldemand Papers by the Archives Department at Ottawa, are the most important contributions to our provincial history, and respecting the relations of the English colonies with those of France, now in progress of publication. The publication of the De Lévis papers will show, what is not at present very clear, just how far they will add to the knowledge we already possess in the Parkman collection of papers in the Cabinet of our Society.

Mr. Winsor also reported that he had more definite knowledge respecting the papers of Luzerne, the French minister to this country during the Revolution, than he possessed when he last spoke of them to the Society. From a letter of the Comte Jean de Kergorlay, a grand-nephew of the Chevalier, it appears that what remains consists of eight volumes, — three of the series having disappeared, — and of these eight volumes one contains Luzerne's instructions from the French court, another commercial papers, and the remainder Luzerne's correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and at the end of the last volume is a series of judgments by Luzerne on the members of the Continental Congress. Mr. Winsor added that he had proposed to their owner that the papers should be sent here for examination, with a view to purchase.

Mr. Winsor also stated that the Baron Nordenskiöld had recently brought to light, in the library of the University of Upsala, a manuscript map of the city of Mexico, after it had

been rebuilt by the Spaniards, and apparently of a date not far from 1550,—the work of Alonzo de Santa Cruz, one of the most skilful cartographers of the time, and the one to whom we owe the earliest attempts to map the variations of the needle. The plan—of which a reduced photograph was shown—is interesting in many ways, and finds a natural relation to those we already possess, as made by Cortes and Ramusio, and by some of the later authorities, to all of which it bears sufficient resemblance. It is to be remarked, however, that the town itself occupies, as in all of these early maps, a space disproportioned to the extent of the lake in which it was situated,—a sacrifice probably of geographical relations in order to afford space for the clearer delineation of the streets and buildings. Surveys made by Humboldt, and since perfected by competent engineers, give us the exact limits of the ancient lake, and it is no longer a matter of conjecture as to the space occupied by the town itself. This map of Santa Cruz bears curious testimony to the oppression, in menial service, which the conquerors put upon the natives, in the multitude of groups of Indians bearing burdens and lashed by overseers, which are delineated on all the high-ways connecting the country with the town.

In preparation for the approaching Annual Meeting a committee of nomination was appointed, consisting of Messrs. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., S. C. Cobb, and W. W. Greenough; a committee on the Treasurer's accounts, consisting of Messrs. A. T. Perkins and G. B. Chase; and a committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, consisting of Messrs. H. F. Jenks, E. J. Lowell, and O. B. Frothingham.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows:—

Since our last meeting, one who was in his seat among us then, has been removed, in the full vigor of his life, by a sudden death on February 21. Mr. Henry Austin Whitney had been a Resident Member of the Society thirty-one years. His presence here was always welcome, and much enjoyed by himself when he could spare the hours from the cares and responsibilities of an engrossing business life. His great abilities, his noble qualities of character, and the confidence and respect of the community secured for him high trusts, with personal esteem and affection. His loss is severely felt.

Mr. CHASE then paid the following tribute : —

I cannot but remember, Mr. President, that I left the last meeting of our Society to go, by Mr. Whitney's invitation, to a small gathering of his friends. He was then, as he always was in any society in which he mingled, conspicuous for his singular charm of manner, kind thought, and affectionate ways ; and the great throng, which crowded the neighboring Chapel at his funeral, so soon after he was here for the last time, was drawn thither by the loss of him whom every one, I believe, there present mourned as a dear personal friend.

My recollection of Henry Whitney goes back to my boyhood ; and the affection I then formed for him was but deepened as I grew older and came to know him better. The kind attention he showed to children was but one indication of a rare sweetness of disposition. To young men he was always attractive for the ready sympathy and generous recognition he showed when they came to him for assistance or friendly advice. I remember when at Harvard, in the days of small things in athletics and in pocket money as well, when the two boat-clubs were rather tolerated than allowed by the Faculty, that our club found itself in need of assistance from some outside source. It was at length agreed that a form of subscription should be drawn up, and that some of the younger graduates should be asked to assist us. When our paper was prepared, there came the important question who should be asked to head it. Henry Whitney's name came first to mind, and I was deputed to see him. Calling at his house, I somewhat timidly handed him our paper, and told him the hope our club felt that he would give ten dollars for our fund. He smiled, and instantly wrote his name for twice that sum. Then suggesting the names of a few graduates whom he thought would help, he wished us success, with the expression of the prophetic hope that there would soon be a boat-club for each class. Thus it always was with Henry Whitney : he did better than he was expected to do, he gave more than he was asked to give.

Surely some of our older members must remember the charming hospitality with which he entertained the Society at the time of its course of lectures on New England History, given at the Lowell Institute. His fine library, so adorned

by his superb collection of the various editions of Milton's works, was a striking illustration of his love of books. During the forty years he was in business, with but occasional holidays, he was actively engaged in the management of important trusts; yet with these occupations he found time to take an intelligent interest in many different subjects. He was early chosen a member of this Society, and might fairly have expected to live to see his name at the head of our roll. He was interested, as a young man, in genealogy, and contributed much to the annals of his own family and name. Later in life he became a freemason, and gave much time to the study of the many chapters and orders which, in the course of centuries, have engrafted themselves on that most ancient body.

Yet, after all, it was his simple, generous nature, his manly and honorable life, adorned with so many graces of manner and of deed, of pleasant wit, of kind thought and friendly counsel, that will cause the great number who called Henry Austin Whitney friend long to mourn his loss, and always to keep his memory green in their hearts.

Mr. BANGS was appointed to prepare a memoir of Mr. Whitney.

Dr. DEANE said that he had heard through Mr. B. Marston Watson, of Plymouth, one of the officers of the Pilgrim Society of that place, that they had accepted the offer of the Old Ship, as mentioned in a communication to the Historical Society in December last, and that this interesting relic would be preserved in the basement of Pilgrim Hall. He exhibited a photograph of three clay pipes which had been found in the wreck, and which in shape were characteristic of the pipes used at that day.

Dr. Deane also communicated from Mr. Watson a letter from the Rev. Joseph Lord, of Chatham, of date 1733, to the Rev. Thomas Prince, concerning which Mr. Watson writes:—

“Not long ago I was looking over the papers of a once noted Unitarian clergyman, when I found a letter written more than a hundred and fifty years ago by a minister on Cape Cod, who, it seems, had been taken to task by his brethren for being too zealous in his attack on certain popular errors. He defends himself with great vigor, and urges them to follow his lead; and he strengthens his position with a line or two from Herbert:—

'God gave thy soul brave wings. Put not those feathers
Into a bed, to sleep out all ill weathers.'

Mr. Lord's letter here follows : —

REVEREND SIR, — I send herewith one of the last prints, wherein you will find that assertion which you seemed desirous to answer when I was with you : viz. That the ministers are *not true to their solemn promise made in giving the right hand of fellowship*. As to which you thought that the right hand of fellowship did not oblige any minister in his private capacity to give his answer to questions ; but only in a publick capacity ; as in councils, &c. And when I answered, Questions had been sent to an Association, you said, They had not power from your churches, and so were but in a private capacity, &c.¹ Recollecting which words, and more of like nature that passed at that time, I take occasion to speak a little farther to it now, And what I would say is this : To be helpful to others as there is need is a Christian duty incumbent upon every one² so that it is to be like *Cain*, to say *Am I my brothers keeper?* this duty is especially incumbent upon them that associate for Christian fellowship and maintaining the same when it is necessary for upholding of Christ's ordinances. And 'tis more especially incumbent upon them that have solemnly promised it. And thus, I think, it is wholly without warrant to restrain it to what can be done in a public capacity. For that which is the duty of men as Christians, is not to be restrained to what they do in a publick capacity. And if it were ; even as ministers they are in a publick capacity, and more obliged to consult the peace of the church in a way of Truth, than private brethren are. Wherefore, as it is not becoming a Christian to see the hedge of the Lord's vineyard torn up, and the stone wall thereof broken down, for fear of meeting with trouble, if he should put in to prevent it : much less is it becoming ministers (whose proper work it is : as is intimated, Tit. 1. 9) not to put themselves into the gap to prevent the treading down of the vineyard : especially when they are under such a solemn promise : even to *come to the help of the Lord*, though it be against the mighty. And this the Divine *Herbert* (as some call him) seems to aim at when he saies,

"God gave thy soul brave wings. Put not those feathers
Into a bed to sleep out all ill weathers."

¹ Mr. Lord mistakes me, for I only said, that the Right Hand of Fellowship did not oblige us to give our answer in *print* or in *writing*, to any Questions the ordained should think fit to propose ; but we are left to our own prudence and liberty to judge of the expediences of either. — PRINCE'S note.

² Tis very true : But then I am not constrained to help him in that particular way which he would have · but in that which seems most advisable and proper to me, whether by printing, writing, or word of mouth, &c., and whether in a private or publick capacity, &c. — PRINCE'S note.

[If] I had thought it would have consisted with my duty I had the advantage to have slept [in a w]hole skin as well as others. But I think that would not have consisted with my duty, [as it] would with my inclination. And I have sometimes thought that I met with the more trouble [by] my so much complying with Potchy as I did at first: through a backwardness to [torn] I foresaw would get their ill will. This with due respects to all with you, is all at present from,

Yours to serve you

JOSEPH LORD.

CHATHAM, 9 (5) 1733.

Dr. GREEN communicated the following paper:—

At the last meeting of the Society a serial number of the Proceedings was placed on the table, which contained an account of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, communicated by our Corresponding Member, Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale University. The report of the trial was found among the papers of President Ezra Stiles, and had been "copied by him while a pastor in Newport, in 1771, from an original manuscript not now traceable." It would be of considerable interest now to know the whereabouts of the missing manuscript, as it has some historical value. It may, however, yet turn up, when and where it is least expected. Akin to the subject I will say that another volume apparently belonging to the same set was once in the possession of our late associate, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, and exhibited by him at a meeting of this Society. In the Proceedings (vol. vii. p. 417) for August, 1864, it is recorded:—

Dr. Webb read extracts from a manuscript volume in the handwriting of Robert Keayne of Boston, consisting of notes of sermons preached by John Cotton, and of ecclesiastical proceedings of the First Church. Dr. Webb stated that the volume corresponded in appearance and character with another manuscript-book of Keayne, now in the archives of this Society.

According to the manuscript records of the August meeting, which are somewhat fuller than appear in the printed Proceedings, the owner of the volume, whose name is not given, wished to sell it, and with that end in view the book was exhibited. On the fly-leaf was written: "Robert Keyne of Bost: New England his Booke, 1643." In point of time, it

follows immediately, or nearly so, the volume referred to as belonging to the Society, which is evidently a continuation of the one used by President Stiles. In fact, the opening paragraph of the copy in this Library mentions "another Booke," which is without doubt the missing volume quoted by Stiles. Besides the abstracts of sermons, it contains a report of two curious cases of ecclesiastical discipline, — one against Sergeant Richard Wait, and the other against Mrs. Ann Hibbens, — in which nearly all the church members express themselves in regard to the points in controversy. With the change of a few words, Stiles's description of the manuscript would answer nearly as well for the copy now in the Library. It is a quarto volume of 584 closely written pages, bound in leather, and consists of an expansion of notes, taken probably from the mouth of the preacher. The first entry is dated Nov. 23, 1639, and the last one, May 22, 1642; and on the *verso* of the fly-leaf is written "Robert Keayne of Boston in New England his Book 1639. Price 6^s." If the manuscript used by Stiles was once, as he says, "among a Family Collection of Books & Manuscripts of the Rev. M^r Wilson, first Pastor of Boston," it is highly probable that the Society's copy was also at one time in the minister's library. It may be noted here that Keayne and Wilson married sisters. The manuscript was in the possession of the Society before October, 1809, though it is not now known either when or by whom it was given. On a fly-leaf at the end of the volume is written: "Mihi missus est Junii die undecimo 1747 J S. ex cognato S T. Warrensii." Presumably the initials S. T. stand for Solomon Townsend, and the date rather confirms the statement made by President Stiles that Mr. Wilson's library was scattered near the middle of the last century. (See page 161.) The book begins:—

M^r Cotton. ou^r Teacher. his. Sermons. or. Expositions. vpon the Bookes. of the New Testament vpon. the Lordes dayes in the fore-noone att Boston. in N. England. begininge at the 27th chapter. of Mathue haueinge gone ouer the rest of this. Euayngelist. allready: in another Booke.

Perhaps eighty pages of the manuscript, though they are not consecutive ones in either instance, are given up to the trials of Sergeant Richard Wait and Mrs. Ann Hibbens. The

first entry in Sergeant Wait's case comes immediately after the expository lecture of April 20, 1640, and is as follows:—

Elder Oliuer calls out Richard Waight. y^t had bin longe. excomui-cated. to see if he could giue satisfaction to the church for his reeturinge agayne. as. he desiers. he is now ready. to make confession. of such thinges. as are past & if you wilbe willinge to hear him. . . .

The charge against Wait at this time is not given *totidem verbis*, but may be inferred from what Mr. Cotton says at a continuation of the hearing, which is recorded just after the “exposition” of July 20, 1640, as follows:—

Brothe^r Waight. you know. how fa^r the church. hath proseded wth you. about you^r wicked confederacy wth Leicesto^r, w^{ch} when some of the Bretheren delt wth you about, you did vtterly deny. y^t you neuer. had any. familiaretie wth him, nor did neuer drinke wth him. but ouer at ou^r Brother Turners & yet since it is playnly proued. & yo^rselfe. haue confessed since. that you haue had often meetings & drinkinges. wth him.

As a result of the long hearing Wait was restored to his former position in the church.

Mrs. Hibbens's case is first considered immediately after the sermon of Sept. 13, 1640, and heard at two later meetings, though the final decision was not reached until the succeeding February. Her transgression is learned, inferentially, from what “Brother Davis” testifies. He says:—

The offence was. betweene M^{rs} Hibbens & my selfe. & some others that w^{ch} I haue to lay to her charge was an vntruth or a lye or 2. that she tould, as alsoe that she accused me of a combination; and sayd. that the Timbers. of the Roome would crye for Judgment agaynst me, and yet she did not deale wth me, accordinge to the Rule of the word.

The next hearing took place on Sept. 20, 1640, when Mrs. Hibbens and her husband each had something to say before the brethren. Both of these meetings were held on a Sunday, but the third and last hearing was on a Monday. It is recorded:—

therfor this meetinge was not one the Lords day. but apoynted one purpose to be. one a second day. of the weeke. beinge. the first day. of the 12th month. 1640. that strangers might come.

At the conclusion of the trial on Feb. 1, 1640-41, Mr. Cotton, the minister, addressed Mrs. Hibbens, in a public admonition ending with these words:—

I doe. from this time forward. pronounce you. an. excomunicatd pson. from god. & his people.

After the remarks of the pastor the following is given:—

Elde^r Leueret Then Mrs Hibbens, you are. to dept the Congregation; as one deprived. worthely. of all the holy thinges of god.

Pastor. Let vs now seeke. to god by praye^r & call vpo. him. for a blessinge. vpon this Ordinance.

M^r Hibbens [the husband] I desier leaue. to speake. one word befo^r the Congregation be dismissed.

Pastor. Speake on.

M^r Hibbens It is my humble & arnest request to the Congregation, first to. our. Reuerend. Elders, & then to eue^ry Brother and Sister in the Congregation, that both in publike & priuat thay wo^{ld} remember my afflicted condition. befo^r the Lord, & earnestly pray to god. that this Ordinance of his may be sanctified to my wife. for the good of her soule. & for the returninge of her. backe agayne. first to hir selfe. & then vnto you. & y^t is all I haue to say.

The excommunication of poor Mrs. Hibbens was among the least of her troubles, for fifteen years later,—on June 19, 1656,—she was hanged as a witch. Even during the period of her ecclesiastical trial she was considered by some persons as unsettled in her mind; and the public admonition by the church must have had an irritating effect on her excited imagination. Both her shattered reason and her reputation for heresy tended to make this unfortunate woman a victim to the witchcraft delusion. Mrs. Hibbens was a sister of Governor Richard Bellingham, who suffered at times from an aberration of intellect; and perhaps there was some inherited taint of insanity, which would explain in part her peculiarities.

Mr. LINCOLN reported that the committee appointed by this Society on the publication of the Province Laws had presented to the Committee on Printing of the House of Representatives a paper by Judge Devens, embodying reasons why the work should be completed.¹

¹ This petition may be found on pages 90, 91, of a pamphlet entitled "Publication of the Province Laws: A Stenographic Report of the Hearing before the Joint

Professor HAYNES then spoke as follows in reference to Daniel Webster's allusion to a speech of Colonel Titus on the Exclusion Bill : —

The entertaining account given at our last meeting by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., of his unremunerated toil in deciphering a paper preserved in the Winthrop collection, which turned out to be a speech of the first Earl of Shaftesbury upon the Exclusion Bill of 1680, that can be found in print in his *Life* by B. Martyn, recalled to my recollection another speech made on the same occasion by quite a different man, to which Daniel Webster once referred in a well-known political address. I have thought it might be not without interest to others also to recall the allusion.

In the "Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster" (vol. ii. p. 284), under date of "Marshfield, August 28, 1848," is the following note, addressed to Edward Everett : —

MY DEAR SIR, — A member of the House of Commons *tempore Cur.* 2d, in debate on the Exclusion Bill, is said to have spoken these lines : —

"I hear a lion in the lobby roar;
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door
And keep him out, or shall we let him in
And see if we can get him out again?"

Now, can you tell me where these lines are to be found? Are they in Hume, Burnet, or where else?

Four days later the quotation was introduced into his speech at Marshfield (*Works of Daniel Webster*, vol. ii. p. 443), as an illustration of the advantage of our not acquiring any new territory as a result of the treaty of peace with Mexico. Since none of his editors have given any intimation of the origin of these lines, I infer that it was unknown to them.

They are to be found in a poem, entitled "The Art of Politics, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, by the Reverend Mr. Bramston," and are included in the well-known "Collection of Poems in six volumes by several hands, with notes. London; printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall Mall, 1782;"

Standing Committee on Printing of the Legislature of 1889, on the order introduced in the House by Mr. Shepard, of Danvers, Jan. 11, 1889, to investigate the work of the Commission on the Province Laws." — Eds.

to which four volumes were added the following year by J. Pearch. The poem in question is in the first volume (p. 276), and a note appended tells us that the author was "Vicar of Starting, in Sussex. He was of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of M. A., April 5, 1720. He died the 16th of March, 1744." The only other information in regard to him that I have happened to meet with is in Thomas Campbell's "Specimens of the British Poets," who says of James Bramston, —

"I have applied to many individuals for information respecting the personal history of this writer, but have not been able to obtain it, even from the quarters where it was most likely to be found. He was born, probably, about the year 1700; was of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of A. M.; and was finally Vicar of Starting, in Sussex. Besides 'The Man of Taste,' he wrote a political satire entitled 'The Art of Politics,' and 'The Crooked Sixpence,' in imitation of Philips' 'Splendid Shilling.'"

Campbell then goes on to quote the whole of "The Man of Taste," which also in Dodsley's Collection follows "The Art of Politics."

Mr. Webster's recollection was not quite accurate in supposing that the comparison was originally made in verse or in its precise language. I will quote the whole passage as it is found, and the notes appended to it (p. 287): —

"With art and modesty your part maintain,
And talk like Col'nel Titus, not like Lane.
The trading knight with rants his speech begins,
Sun, moon, and stars, and dragons, saints, and kings.
But Titus said, with his uncommon sense,
When the exclusion-bill was in suspense,
I hear a lion in the lobby roar;
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door
And keep him there, or shall we let him in
To try if we can turn him out again?"

The notes inform us that "Sir Richard Lane was member for Worcester in the year 1727;" also that —

"In a debate on the exclusion bill, January 7, 1680, Colonel Titus, amongst other things, observed, 'If a lion was in the lobby, and we were to consider which way to secure ourselves from him, and conclude it is best to shut the door and keep him out,' 'No,' says another,

‘let us chain him and let him come in ; but I should be loth to put the chain on.’ Should the nomination of the judges and all other preferences be in your hands, what kind of a government would you have, without feet or hands? As such a king cannot hurt you, so he cannot protect you. It has been said by another, ‘Let us establish a good council about the king.’ But I never knew a king and his council of a different opinion. A wise king has, and also makes, a wise council ; but a wise council does not always make a wise king,” etc. — *Grey’s Debates*, vol. viii. p. 279.

Both of Bramston’s poems are very pleasant reading, and I have no doubt Mr. Webster enjoyed them, as he turned over the pages of Dodsley’s Collection, which, I think, he somewhere says he once did. Several years ago I added a few citations from them to Bartlett’s “Familiar Quotations,” including the present one, without however alluding to Mr. Webster’s use of it.

Dr. William Everett has called my attention to “The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston,” which Lord Braybrooke edited for the Camden Society in 1844. In the genealogical table appended to it appears the name of “James Bramston, clerk, Rector of Ludgershall, author of ‘The Man of Feeling,’ and other poems.” I think this must be intended for our author, and that Lord Braybrooke confused the title of his poem, “The Man of Taste,” with Henry Mackenzie’s novel, “The Man of Feeling,” which appeared in 1771. If this is so, James Bramston was a great-grandson of the Chief Justice Brampston, of Charles the First’s time, who procured the opinion of the judges about the legality of ship-money, which John Hampden resisted.

Dr. PEABODY communicated a memoir which he had written of James Freeman Clarke.

MEMOIR
OF
JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D.D.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

THE grandfather of James Freeman Clarke, Samuel Clarke, a Boston merchant, married Martha Curtis, and died in 1780, leaving an only child, bearing his own name, and less than two years old. In 1788 his widow married Rev. (afterward Dr.) James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, and a resident of Newton, who became not only the stepfather, but in the most beneficent sense the foster-father, of her son. The son married Rebecca Parker, daughter of Gen. William Hull, of Newton. After his marriage he studied medicine, and for a while lived at Hanover, New Hampshire, to enjoy the tuition of Dr. Nathan Smith, then second in reputation to no other physician or surgeon in New England. At Hanover, James Freeman, the third child of this marriage, was born, April 4, 1810. Before the close of that year Dr. Clarke returned to Massachusetts. The whole family lived at first with Dr. and Mrs. Freeman, afterward occupied a house in the neighborhood of their summer residence, belonging to Miss Sarah Curtis, Dr. Clarke's aunt, and subsequently removed to Boston. James, though sometimes living with the family, spent the greater part of the time with his grandmother, was virtually, though without any legal formality, adopted by Dr. Freeman, held in his else childless household the favored position of an only child, and grew up wholly under his influence. Not that in his father's family there would have been any other type of home-training, but he always regarded the Newton parsonage as his home, and it was evidently with reluctance that, as a matter of exact history, he was sometimes obliged to speak of Dr. Freeman as not really his grandfather.

Dr. Freeman is to the generation now on the stage merely a venerated name. To those who knew him he was not only an eminently good man, but one of those symmetrical and evenly balanced characters which, adequate to almost any position or service, seem specially fitted for the charge and culture of youth; and while James was in his mental traits and habits as unlike his grandfather as he could well be, there were indelible impressions made in childhood upon his moral nature which were distinctly visible in his college life, and which underlay his entire career. The purity and integrity, the delicate and discriminating moral sense, the quiet, unostentatious courage, the singleness of aim, the tenacity of purpose, the candid estimate of men, opinions and measures, the comprehensiveness of charity, which marked the younger man in his widely extended sphere of service, were no less characteristic of the elder, who met theological rancor and odium, in his early ministry, with the same meek, gentle and catholic spirit in which he performed the faithful work of his prime, and enjoyed the honored and hallowed repose of his old age.

Of the grandson we have the testimony of one who had "known him in infancy, in youth, in manhood, and in age," that he was from first to last "the same, — kind, amiable, generous, and high-principled; and as boy and man he feared nothing but evil."

The first record that we find of James is that of his baptism in King's Chapel, when he was a year old, and when, safe in the arms of his beloved grandfather, he surveyed the scene and the audience with smiling curiosity, and with the perfect quietness and self-possession which from that day onward can have seldom been disturbed.

He was a very active boy, fond of athletic sports, and so expert a climber that there was hardly a tree in the neighborhood with whose higher branches he was not familiar. At the same time he was a quick and apt scholar, especially in mathematics and in Latin, in which Dr. Freeman was for his time an adept. He entered the Boston Latin School in 1821, and was there under the tuition of Benjamin Apthorp Gould, whose scholarly attainments, wise discipline, and high character gave to the school the pre-eminent reputation which it has never lost, and of Frederic Percival Leverett, his sub-master and successor, whose Latin Dictionary could have been

superseded only from veins of classical and linguistic research which have been opened since his death. James, however, always ascribed his scholarly tastes and proficiency to his grandfather's superior teaching capacity, and gave him the credit of having anticipated the more rational methods of classical instruction which are superseding the former grinding and scantily fruitful toil with grammar and dictionary.

James entered Harvard College in 1825, after but four years at the Latin School; while nearly twenty of his classmates at school were his juniors in college by one, two, or three years. He was among the younger members of his college class; and while faithful in his work, exemplary in conduct, and of recognized ability and promise, he did not distinguish himself as a scholar. But his educational advantages during those four years were of a very high order. Though little instruction was given in connection with the daily recitations, there was great interest in various courses of lectures, some of them by resident professors, most of them by non-residents, who brought to the lecture-room the prestige of eminent reputation, and the learning and eloquence that had won and deserved it. Dr. Follen had then recently taken his place in the corps of teachers, and had introduced the study of the German language and literature, which till his time had no place in the college curriculum. He had also made the first breaches in the barrier which had precluded the students from intimate relations with the Faculty. He had, moreover, introduced a system of gymnastic training, which was made availing by all who were not physically incapacitated for it, and to which not a few of the students—probably Clarke among the number—were largely indebted for lifelong power of labor and endurance. The Class of 1829, too, was in itself a university, and to belong to it was little less than a liberal education. It contained more men who in after life achieved distinction than any class that had graduated since 1802; and of these men there was not one whose superior endowments were not recognized by his associates. In the days when students were not permitted to spend a night out of Cambridge, when they had no outside interests or occupations, and when most of the college societies were hard-working associations for mutual improvement in literature or science, there could scarcely have been one of that class who became

well known in the larger world, who would not have acknowledged his great indebtedness to each and all of those who stood on the same high plane with himself. Of society beyond the college walls Clarke can have had but little; for such social life as young men would have enjoyed or sought was just beginning in Cambridge when he graduated. But before that time he had become acquainted with Margaret Fuller, whose friendship he enjoyed as long as she lived, and who, though but a month his senior, had at that early age a maturity of intellect, a range and depth of culture, and a power of influence, which made association with her an important factor in the shaping and direction of such minds as she was willing to treat on equal terms.

Mr. Clarke entered the Divinity School in 1829, in the term immediately succeeding his graduation; but the death of his father, in November, 1830, rendered it desirable for him to seek means of pecuniary self-help, and he suspended his professional studies to take charge of a school in Cambridgeport, — a work which he found congenial, and which left with him only happy remembrances. He was wont to recur to a unique experience, which might make one almost regret that his employment for a few months had not been his permanent profession. He took, as he said, special pleasure in watching and aiding the awakening processes in the minds of reputedly dull scholars. Who can tell how many intellects might be created seemingly out of nothing, were teachers to bestow thought, care and effort on their pupils in inverse proportion to their apparent ability?

Mr. Clarke subsequently joined the class that entered the Divinity School in 1830, and graduated in 1833. It was known by all his fellow-students that he could be only one of the leading minds in his profession. He was not so much a hard student, as a prompt and earnest recipient of the most and the best that could be got from books and from men; while he was already endowed with the unostentatious and seemingly unconscious power of strongly impressing other minds with whatever had possession of his own. He had wonderful alertness in thought and in utterance, and his self-culture, with no lack of depth, was remarkable for its breadth. In the discussions, whether formal or casual, which filled a large space in the life of Divinity Hall, no one would have

been missed so much as he; for he was never silent, and never spoke but to say what was well worth our hearing. He entered the active ministry with a facility of speech and of written composition, and a capacity of adapting himself to time, place and audience, which with many successful ministers is of slow and late acquisition.

After leaving the Divinity School, Mr. Clarke preached once in Waltham, and then accepted a call to the pastorate of a new Unitarian church in Louisville, Kentucky, reaching that city on the 4th of August, 1833. This was a position which needed a maturity of wisdom rarely found in a young man of twenty-three, with no prior experience of the outside world. His progress at the outset was so slow that a less hopeful man would have been utterly discouraged and disheartened. The sole representative in that region of a type of theological belief little known and less esteemed, never concealing his own convictions, and using all fit means of propagandism,—he yet came into friendly relations with the best men and women of all denominations, and was regarded by the whole community with respect and confidence. Strongly opposed to slavery, and never cloaking his abhorrence of it, he attempted with regard to it only such influence as he could make availing,—such as was sensibly felt in an ever-widening circle, and outlasted the lifetime of slavery. Finding the duel, in certain cases, required by the unwritten law of the land, he was able so to denounce this barbarous custom as to convince some minds at least of its absurdity and wickedness, without incurring an hostility which would have more than neutralized his influence in that behalf. Not content with faithful work in his special calling, he edited, from 1835 to 1839, a magazine entitled “The Western Messenger,” which had been established in Cincinnati by Rev. Ephraim Peabody, and after his failure in health was removed to Louisville. For this, Mr. Clarke, in addition to fresh and able religious and theological articles, furnished a large amount of valuable literary matter, both of his own authorship, and from the ready contributions of his friends in Cincinnati and in Massachusetts.¹ When he resigned his charge

¹ It is worthy of note that several of Emerson's earliest poems—some of those which have contributed most largely to his reputation as a poet—were

in Louisville he left, instead of a feeble church whose continued existence was a matter of great doubt, a strong religious organization, bearing some of the most honored names in the city on its roll of membership, singularly active and efficient in all local charities, and contributing generously to the diffusion of its own faith in the West.

In 1839 Mr. Clarke married Anna, the eldest daughter of H. J. Huidekoper, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, who made for him one of the happiest of homes, whose unintermitted helpfulness lightened his cares and burdens, and whose tender ministries shed peace and gladness over his last months of infirmity and decline.

His Western residence remained a bright spot in his memory, and he left it with the utmost reluctance. But he had not ceased to be in heart a Bostonian, and he was strongly urged by Dr. Channing and other New England friends to return eastward, in the belief that there were both room and need for his services where he was still so lovingly remembered. At the same time he was unwilling that his family should live permanently under the blighting shadow of domestic slavery. He therefore, in May, 1840, left Louisville, and returned to what he regarded as virtually his native city, in which for nearly half a century he maintained a position second to that of no other man,—not only as a Christian minister, but equally as a citizen identified with every public interest, with every charitable enterprise, with every philanthropic movement.

His reputation as a preacher would have insured for him a welcome to the first vacancy in a pulpit of his own denomination. But he had adopted what was deemed a peculiar theory of the ministry,—the theory, however, which must have underlain the practice of the primitive church, and which has its earliest exposition in the Epistle of Saint James. He regarded the church, its place of worship, its ordinances, and its ministrations, as rightfully free, as equally appertaining to persons of all sorts and conditions, and as fitly sustained only by voluntary offerings. Always unshrinkingly loyal to his convictions, he determined to be minister of such

a church, or of none. The idea was repugnant to the habits and the prejudices of the Boston public, and the experiment had never, it is believed, been tried in New England under Protestant auspices.

Mr. Clarke gathered a small congregation, partly of personal friends, partly from among the few who were in full sympathy with him as to his proposed method. The society was organized in February, 1841. It grew rapidly till 1845, when Mr. Clarke took the bold step of exchanging pulpits with Theodore Parker, — not, as he expressly asserted, because he agreed with Parker in opinion, but because he regarded him as an honest and devout Christian man, and as therefore wrongfully excluded from Christian fellowship. This measure led to the withdrawal from his church of a large minority of its members, who established a new society, and built a church edifice in Bedford Street.

Mr. Clarke's remaining flock lost not heart or hope; and while he was their pastor, it was impossible that their loss in numbers should not be more than replaced. They soon found themselves able to erect a very commodious little chapel in Freeman Place, which was dedicated on the 15th of March, 1848. But their growth was checked, and their existence imperilled, in 1850, by the serious illness of their minister, who for nearly three years performed but little clerical service, spending a part of the time at his wife's home in Meadville, and nine months of it in Europe. During this interval the Freeman Place Chapel was sold; but the society retained its organization, and he was able sometimes to visit them and to preach to them. After his return to them with renewed health, in 1853, they worshipped for a time in Williams Hall, and afterward in the Indiana Place Chapel. The society emerged at once into vigorous life, increasing constantly, not only in numbers, but still more, in strength, in strenuous Christian purpose, and in every mode of religious endeavor and activity. The narrow quarters which had more than sufficed for its infancy were no longer adequate to its needs, and the present church edifice of the Church of the Disciples, in Brookline Street, was erected, — a building admirably adapted for all kinds of church work, with an ample and well-arranged audience-hall, a capacious lecture and Sunday-school room, and smaller apartments for social gatherings and

entertainments, and for the pastor's private use. This building was dedicated on the 28th of February, 1869. Since Dr. Clarke's return to his society, it has had uninterrupted prosperity, has done its full share of labor for the poor and unprivileged, and has never failed of generous subsidies to denominational and public charities. These latter years of Dr. Clarke's life have been, in the ordinary sense of the word, uneventful, yet in fact intensely eventful,—its epochs of successful labor, whether in the pulpit, in authorship, in social influence, in religious propagandism, in public service, having followed one another too closely for distinct enumeration or record.

Dr. Clarke reached the close of his seventy-sixth year in unimpaired health and working power. For the last two years of his life he was enfeebled, and for a time seemed hopelessly disabled. During the summer of 1887 it was feared that he would never again enter the pulpit; but prolonged rest, faithful care, and the sea-breezes of Magnolia so far restored him that he preached frequently through the following winter and spring, wrote new—and never better—sermons, and entered with heart and soul, though no longer in active participation, into every interest of the church and the community. His last sermons were a series of eight, on the Lord's Prayer, in part new, in part revised from earlier manuscripts; several of which he delivered in the usual way, though with an effort painful to his friends; one of which he read from the pulpit when he was too feeble to stand; while the last was read by a friend when he could no longer be present at the service. His decline was gradual, with frequent intervals of freedom from suffering, and without the slightest failure as to clearness and strength of mind. He was fully aware of approaching dissolution, spoke of the future beyond death with the assurance of even more than faith, made every possible arrangement for the relief and comfort of those who should survive him, and awaited the closing hour in perfect peace. He passed away on the 8th of June, 1888. On the 11th the funeral was attended at the Church of the Disciples, with every demonstration of gratitude for his services, honor to his memory, and grief for the loss of one than whom none held a higher place in the reverence and affection of his fellow-citizens.

In estimating Dr. Clarke's character, the first place should be assigned to what was manifestly its shaping, pervading, and controlling element, — his religious principle and feeling, — a principle so steadfast and uniform as to sustain constant and equable feeling rather than vivid and intermittent emotion. The consecration of all that he was to the service of God, by serving his fellow-men, seemed to him the most natural thing to be done; and he did it in the most natural way, without ostentation or trumpet-sounding or self-praise, and evidently without reckoning any other plan of life as among things possible. Thus religion had not the appearance of being superimposed upon the man, but rather that of being a part of himself. This naturalness, which was more than sincerity, was among the chief springs of his surpassing power over other minds, and made his influence intensely felt wherever and in whatever cause it was exerted.

He was by no means wanting in imaginative inspiration, as may be seen in what he gave the world both in poetry and in fiction; and but for the supreme aim of which he never lost sight, he would have held, as a writer in some other department, as high a place as is accorded to him in the literature more intimately connected with his own profession. What especially characterized his mind was its keen and deep insight into all subjects that came under his cognizance. He went to the heart of things. While he bowed in devout humility before the real mysteries which the finite mind cannot fathom, he had no tolerance for dim lights and cloudy utterances in realms of thought fairly open to the human understanding. His opinions were clear, distinct, definite; and until they had become so, he would not own them as opinions. It hardly needs to be said, after this statement, that he was wont to found his beliefs on what seemed to him adequate grounds. He had no opinions as to which he could not tell how and why he held them. He did not, like some good men, believe what he felt, and because he felt it; but he profoundly felt what he believed, and because he believed it. Moreover, because he always sought reasons for his beliefs, he examined all the aspects of the subject under consideration, and was as familiar with what he repudiated as with what he accepted as true and sound. He therefore could always do ample justice to those from whom he differed.

The first mental peculiarity that I noted in him when I made his acquaintance more than sixty years ago, was his ability to reason equally well on both sides of a question. With the impulsive one-sidedness not unnatural in a young man, I was disposed to consider this capacity or habit as a weakness; I came to regard it as an invaluable element of strength. The very last time that I heard an argument from him was on a Board of which we both were members, and were on opposite sides of an important question. I thought that I knew how he was going to vote, when to my surprise he made on my side the strongest argument of the day, and then added, "These considerations would determine my vote, were it not for a principle in which I have implicit confidence, on which I have always acted, and which has been uniformly justified by my observation and experience." He stated his principle, and voted in accordance with it; and though I then dissented from him, I now believe that he was in the right. He was thus, in the only good sense of the term, Janus-faced, while he was as far as possible from being two-sided. His position on all important subjects was promptly taken, unmistakably defined, and firmly maintained; and it was often, as is that of every wise man, a position midway between two extremes, and therefore on the one hand needing double defence, and on the other hand placing him in the kindest relations with those on either side of him. Thus, as a Unitarian Christian, an earnest believer in historical Christianity, and recognizing in his own experience the worth and power of truths distinctively evangelical, he was at once an able and persistent advocate of his own system of theology, and in unconstrained fellowship with the more liberal members of the (so-called) orthodox churches, and with reverent and pure-hearted men who held what he deemed inadequate views of the person, life and work of Jesus Christ. As regards ecclesiastical organization, while so strongly attached to his own method that he would not have consented to serve under any other arrangement, he was so fully aware of the evils and dangers contingent on a premature disruption of the old system, that his propagandism in this behalf was confined to the example which he enabled his own church to place before the world. In every department of social reform he was an early, ready and efficient laborer, but never unmindful of the reasons why

men, both wise and good, might not join hands with him; preferring, where possible, measures that would unite rather than divide the moral force of the community, and never giving countenance to the denunciation and proscription of those who withheld their support from causes in which he was in his own person unsparing of labor and of sacrifice.

The habit of mind of which I am speaking was of no little value to him as a preacher. The first characteristic which impressed his hearers was his manifest sincerity. He preached only what he believed and felt, and he thus gave a clear insight into his own mind and heart. But mere sincerity, though an essential gift, cannot make a great preacher. He owed his eminent success, in a large measure, to his thorough comprehension of the entire field of thought to which his subject appertained, so that his own views of ethical and religious truth were clearly discriminated in their more or less cognate or adverse relation to opinions elsewhere maintained. His sermons were demonstrations or expositions of what he regarded as essential truths or duties, in their manifoldness of form, detail, or application; and no one could hear him without a distinct apprehension, often, indeed, of an old and well-worn subject, but if so, of that subject in relations and adaptations in which he had never thought of it before.

As for style, no one could more fully than Dr. Clarke exemplify Buffon's often quoted saying, "The style is the man." He alone can write well, to whom it is, or has become, natural to speak well, and whose only care in writing is to make himself understood. Especially in the pulpit, an artificial, elaborate, ambitious style dilutes thought and maims argument. Dr. Clarke wrote precisely as, with his elegant culture and refined taste, he would have talked on the same subjects. He had always an easy flow of language, and in hearing him speak extemporaneously one missed nothing that belonged to his written discourse. Yet he seldom preached without a fully written manuscript, — the method best suited to one who, like him, set prime value on literal accuracy of statement, and was unwilling to say in public what would not bear his own careful revision and criticism.

Dr. Clarke's oratory was in close harmony with his style. It was not oratory in any designed or elaborate sense. It was the reading of his manuscript in the most natural way, by a

man whose own mind was full of what he had written, and who earnestly desired to make the minds of his hearers equally full of it. He therefore spoke always with vivacity and energy. But the great merit of his delivery was that one might be his constant hearer, and always edified and delighted, without thinking of him as a speaker, or being able to describe his method. Had he been talking on the subject of his sermon with a person whom he was laboring to convince or persuade, his manner would have been very much the same as when he was addressing a full congregation.

It may be doubted whether in the Boston pulpit any other man has filled so large a place so long. His church was growing till there was little room left for it to grow. Those who joined it were hardly ever separated from it but by death, and of its constant attendants there were not a few who, in order to remain so, far exceeded the wonted limits of "a Sabbath-day's journey." He generally occupied his own pulpit, and in the minds of his congregation no one could supply his place. He filled out his seventy-eighth year without the slightest failure of his power as a preacher, and was never heard with more interest or with more conscious benefit than when those who watched his waning strength with every sermon feared that it might be his last. He had, too, a much larger audience than his voice could reach. For many years his Sunday morning sermon was published in one of the Boston newspapers, and the paper containing it was kept by hundreds of purchasers for the next Sunday's reading. Extracts from his sermons were also published weekly for several years by an English religious newspaper, entitled "The Christian Life," which printed in full his last sermons on the Lord's Prayer, and from which they were reprinted in a volume, in London, after his death.

Dr. Clarke was no less beloved as a pastor than admired as a preacher. Living, as he did, at Jamaica Plain, he was exempted from many of the harassing and distracting labors usually imposed upon a city minister. He was out of the track of agents, professional beggars, and other merciless wasters of clerical time. But to those whom he could serve by counsel, sympathy or material aid, he was always as near as their nearest neighbor, and the threads of intercourse with the widely scattered members of his flock were as telegraphic

wires to command, in every stress of need, his presence, sympathy and helpfulness. Then, too, the basement rooms of his church furnished means of communication with him at frequent social meetings, and in his own special and often-visited apartment.

Dr. Clarke, through the press, filled a very large place with the reading public; and while in quality his writings are, without exception, worthy memorials of his learning, culture, taste, and genius, in quantity they far exceed what could have been expected from one whose only rest from active duty was the enforced rest of an invalid. To be sure, a part of what he published had done service in the pulpit, but by no means the greater part; and no small portion of it demanded profound study and elaborate research. The volumes on the "Ten Great Religions," in point of thoroughness and comprehensiveness, might well have issued from the cloistered seclusion of a university, rather than from the scanty leisure of one of the busiest of men. The treatise on Saint Paul, and that on the Fourth Gospel, show his familiarity with the entire ground covered by these titles, and his ability to hold his equal place with writers who make such subjects their specialty. Some of his works, as will be seen by the list appended to this Memoir, appertain to dogmatic, and what is commonly called and commonly is polemic theology, — with him, however, never polemic, but always appreciative and kindly in the treatment of opinions other than his own, and of their honest advocates. He was one of that very small class of men in whom their opponents can confide for a fair statement of their opinions and arguments.

Beside his books his printed pamphlets must have been reckoned by hundreds; and his contributions to periodical literature were more numerous, and more varied in their scope, than those of any other man within my knowledge. In addition to his work for the *Western Messenger*, of which I have already spoken, and for the *Christian World*, — of which, for its life of two or three years, he was one of the editors, — he wrote for the *North American Review*, the *Christian Examiner*, the *Dial*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Christian Register*, the *Christian Inquirer*, the *Independent*, and the *Christian Union*, — for some of them regularly for a series of years; and with these incessant demands upon him he never lapsed into

carelessness, betrayed undue precipitancy in thought or in expression, or suffered to go from his pen what it would have been for his reputation to recall.

With his unintermitted professional and literary labors, Dr. Clarke entered with wise and persistent energy into every interest that could fitly claim the sympathy and co-operation of a Christian citizen. His educational services alone fill a large chapter in his life. He was Superintendent of Public Schools in Louisville at a time when, in all the Western and Southern cities, that department was under the control of New England men. He was for many years a member of the School Committee of West Roxbury (before its annexation to Boston), attended constantly to the duties of the office, and wrote the Annual Reports. He was also for several years an active and efficient member of the State Board of Education. He gave a great deal of attention to text-books and modes of teaching, and did all in his power to replace the artificial and perfunctory methods, which have nothing but tradition in their favor, by the exercise of the pupil's own mind under the teacher's prompting and guidance. During his residence at Meadville, though in feeble health, he gave instruction in the Divinity School, not only in theology, but in gymnastics. For the teaching of astronomy—in which he was a scientific adept no less than a diligent observer—he invented an astronomical lantern, with card-board slides, containing charts that represent different sections of the starry heavens,—an apparatus that can hardly fail of becoming widely known and extensively useful.

Dr. Clarke maintained, during his entire residence in Boston, beneficial relations with Harvard University, which, in 1863, honored itself and him by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. For four years, as a non-resident professor, he delivered invaluable courses of lectures to the Divinity students. For nearly twenty years he was on the Board of Overseers, took a leading part in its business, and was always chairman or member of several of its most important committees. At the same time his occasional, though too infrequent, appearance in the college pulpit gave him the welcome opportunity for a ministration which he knew how to make peculiarly appropriate and impressive.

Dr. Clarke was a constant and earnest worker in the anti-

slavery cause, and all the more zealously and persistently, because he had early knowledge and experience of the injury done by the institution of slavery to the white race no less than to the negro; but he never suffered himself to forget that it had among its supporters and defenders men worthy of the highest respect for their moral worth and religious principle.

Dr. Clarke laid no little stress on his responsibility as a citizen. He regarded the exercise of the right of suffrage as a duty which he never failed to perform; and he felt himself bound to attend primary meetings, and to employ his political influence at such times and in such ways as the public welfare might demand. He thus rightly regarded his profession, not as exempting him from any of his obligations as a citizen, but as requiring of him the example of their conscientious and faithful discharge.

It cannot need to be added that, in all the relations of home, kindred, friendship, and society, Dr. Clarke had the implicit confidence, the profound honor and reverence, and the warm affection of all within the smaller and the larger circle; that he has left only the most precious memories; and that to very many hearts, and in many homes beside his own, his departure is a loss in this world utterly irreparable.

The following is a list of such of Dr. Clarke's publications as appeared in bound volumes. No attempt has been made to procure a catalogue of his smaller works.

Theodore; or, The Sceptic's Conversion. Translated from the German of De Wette, and printed in George Ripley's "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature," Vols. XI. and XII. Boston, 1841.

Service Book for the Church of the Disciples. Boston, 1844.

Disciples' Hymn Book. Boston, 1844. Twelve editions.

History of the Campaign of 1812, and Defence of Gen. William Hull for the Surrender of Detroit. New York, 1848.

Eleven Weeks in Europe.¹ Boston, 1852.

Memoirs of Margaret Fuller, Marchioness D'Ossoli, written in connection with William H. Channing and Ralph W. Emerson. Boston, 1852.

Christian Doctrine of Forgiveness of Sin. Boston, 1852. Four editions.

¹ A narrative of a vacation tour earlier and shorter than that referred to in the Memoir.

Christian Doctrine of Prayer. Boston, 1852. Seven editions.

Karl Hase's Life of Jesus. A Manual for Academic Study. Translated from the German of the third and fourth improved editions. Boston, 1860.

The Hour which Cometh. A Volume of Sermons. Boston, 1864. Two editions.

Orthodoxy: its Truths and Errors. Boston, 1866.

Steps of Belief; or, Rational Christianity maintained against Atheism, Free Religion, and Romanism. Boston, 1870.

Ten Great Religions. An Essay in Comparative Theology. Boston, 1871.

Exotics: Attempts to domesticate them. A Collection of Translations in Verse. Boston, 1876.

Go up Higher; or, Religion in Common Life. A Volume of Sermons. Boston, 1877.

Essentials and Non-Essentials in Religion. Boston, 1878.

How to find the Stars. With an Account of the Astronomical Lantern. Boston, 1878.

Memorial and Biographical Sketches. Boston, 1878.

Common Sense in Religion. Boston, 1879.

Events and Epochs in Religious History. Boston, 1881.

The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic. Boston, 1881.

Self-Culture. Boston, 1882.

Ten Great Religions. Part II. A Comparison of all Religions. Boston, 1883.

The Ideas of the Apostle Paul, translated into their Modern Equivalents. Boston, 1884.

Anti-Slavery Days. New York, 1884. Two editions.

Manual of Unitarian Belief. Boston, 1884.

The Problem of the Fourth Gospel. Boston, 1886.

Every-Day Religion. Boston, 1886.

Vexed Questions in Theology. Boston, 1886.

Sermons on the Lord's Prayer. London, 1888.